R5685-2

Blacks on the Move: A Decade of Demographic Change

FROM A REPORT PREPARED BY
William P. O'Hare, Senior Research Associate
Jane-yu Li, Research Associate
Roy Chatterjee, Staff Analyst
Margaret Shukur, Research Assistant

ABRIDGED BY
Phillip Sawicki

Joint Center for Political Studies
Washington, D.C. 1982

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ISBN 0-941410-25-0

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1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, which helped to make this publication possible.

The work that provided the basis for this publication was supported by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development under Cooperative Agreement H5273. The author and publisher are solely responsible for the accuracy of the statements and interpretations contained in this publication and such interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views of the Government.

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FOREWORD

A basic requirement for evaluating public policy is knowing the location and composition of the population. Understanding recent demographic changes is also vital in assessing the impact of public policies and deciding what should be implemented. In particular, the disparate impact of policies on minority groups must be taken into account by a pluralistic society committed to economic and political justice.

This monograph, abridged by Phillip Sawicki, a consultant to the Joint Center, summarizes the first two parts of a three-part study. The first part of the study, entitled "Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy: Migration Trends and Population Distribution," which was delivered to HUD in January 1982, examines broad demographic trends among blacks. It includes a historical overview, a survey of recent regional changes, and an analysis of state-level migration in the 1970s. The second part of the study, entitled "Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy: Migration Trends and Population Distribution in Metropolitan Areas," which was delivered to HUD in May 1982, focuses on trends in metropolitan areas, with particular emphasis on central-city decline and emerging black suburbanization. The final segment of the study, which looks at the public policy implications of these demographic trends is reported separately.

The demographic project as a whole is being conducted by members of the Joint Center's Research Department, headed by Milton D. Morris. Dr. William P. O'Hare directs the project. Dr. Jane-yu Li, Roy Chatterjee, and Margaret Shukur are the other project researchers. Assistance has been provided by Byron Clay, a student intern; Deborah Rivers, William Wright, Linda Jefferies, and Joyce Jackson, support staff; Auriel Pilgrim and Carolyn Smaugh, in the Information Services Department; and Catherine Iino and Constance Toliver, in the Publications Department.

Eddie N. Williams
President

DEFINITION OF TERMS

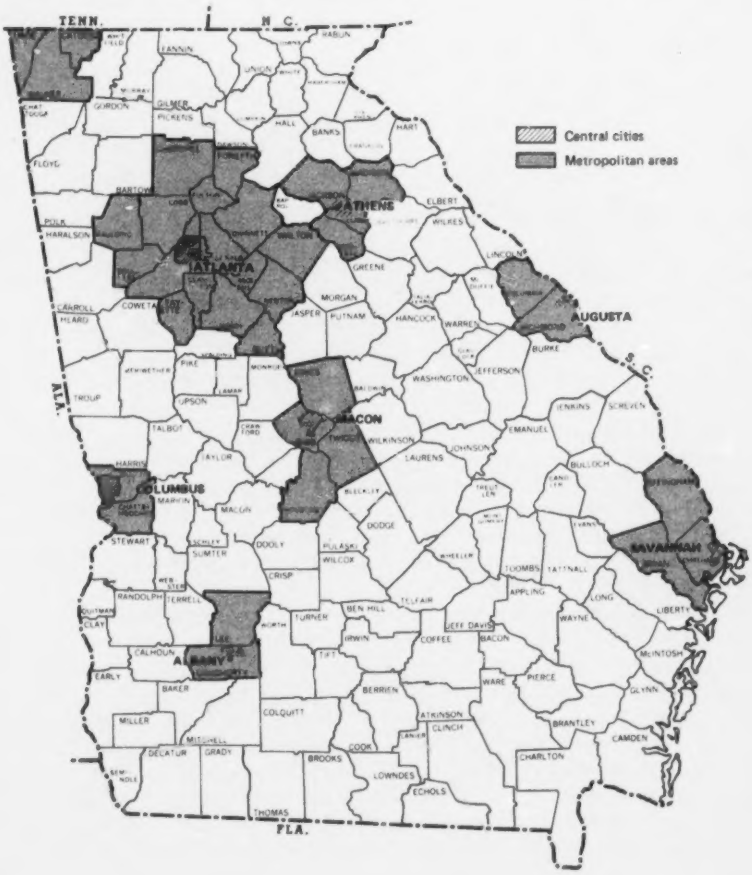
In this monograph, the term "metropolitan" is used as it is officially defined by the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB). OMB classifies all parts of the country as being either metropolitan or nonmetropolitan, with metropolitan areas comprising all the territory included in standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs); all other territory is classified as nonmetropolitan. An SMSA, or metropolitan area, ordinarily consists of one or more central cities (defined below) and the surrounding counties which are economically integrated with that central city. The degree of economic integration is usually determined by commuter patterns between the surrounding counties and the central city. Throughout this report, the terms "SMSA," "metro," and "metropolitan" are used interchangeably.

Within metropolitan areas, we distinguish between "central cities"--the major urban centers of metropolitan areas--and "suburbs"--the noncentral-city portions of metro areas. Each time OMB recognizes a new SMSA, the agency specifies its central city or cities. With a few exceptions, central cities have populations of 50,000 or more.

The relationships among the terms described above are illustrated in Map 1, which shows central cities and metropolitan areas in Georgia following the 1980 Census. Six metropolitan areas are wholly or partly located within the state's boundaries. The largest, the Atlanta metropolitan area, includes 15 counties. The city of Atlanta itself is located in portions of only 2 of these counties. The area outside the city of Atlanta but within the boundaries of the SMSA is customarily referred to as suburban.

This report also refers frequently to the four major regions of the country as defined by the Census Bureau: the Northeast region, the North Central region, the South, and the West. Furthermore, the Northeast and North Central regions are often referred to simply as "the North." The term "the South" refers to

Map 1. Central cities and metropolitan areas in Georgia, 1980.



the 17 states of the southeastern and south-central parts of the country. "The West" includes all of the states entirely west of Kansas. These four regions are displayed on Map 2.

The distinction between "population change" and "migration" should also be noted. The size of a population may change both because of migration and because of a change in the ratio of births to deaths. An increase in population size does not necessarily signify that in-migration has occurred. Thus "migration" and "population change" are not synonymous. It is possible for a population to grow without in-migration, and it is also possible for a population to grow even if out-migration occurs.

The JCPS Data Base

Using figures from the 1980 Census, we have constructed a data base that has allowed us to make a detailed analysis of black population redistribution within metropolitan areas during the 1970s. This data base combines statistics on the number of inhabitants by race from the 1980 Census with data from the State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1979, which includes 1970 census figures. This data base, which contains information on 278 SMSAs that existed as of November 1978, allowed us to calculate changes in black suburbanization and central-city concentration, and to analyze the socioeconomic characteristics of the metropolitan areas associated with these changes. Reference to the JCPS data set in the tables of this report refers to this data base. We forewarn the reader that aggregate metro figures from the JCPS data set will differ from corresponding 1980 figures because the 1980 census figures are based on 323 SMSAs identified at that time.

Furthermore, 2 of the 278 SMSAs used for the metropolitan area analysis are excluded from the analysis of suburbs, and 1 from the analysis of central cities. The Nassau-Suffolk, New York, SMSA has no designated central city and therefore the SMSA cannot be disaggregated into its central-city/suburb components. The Meridan, Connecticut, SMSA has no suburban component. Consequently, there are 278 SMSAs employed in the analysis of metro areas, 277 SMSAs used in the analysis of central cities, and 276 in the suburban analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the 1970s, as in preceding decades, the people of the United States continued to be a people on the move. Just as people had done in earlier decades, millions of Americans collected their belongings and changed residence--from big city to small town, from small town to big city, from one suburb to another, and from one state to another. And, as in the preceding decades, the reasons for the moves were multitudinous--taking a new job elsewhere; searching for a new job elsewhere; needing a bigger house or apartment, or a smaller one; wanting to find a better place to bring up children; and wanting to find a place for tranquil retirement.

To put it another way, many of the trends that emerge from a study of population movement in the United States during the 1970s do not differ from the trends that were characteristic of the 1950s and 1960s. The South continued to be the region with the largest amount of population growth. The number of areas that gained enough population to be classified as SMSAs continued to rise substantially, from 243 to 323. The central cities of SMSAs continued to see a reduction in their overall share of the country's population, with most of the reduction taking place in the older and larger central cities of the Northeast and North Central regions of the country. Meanwhile, the suburbs of SMSAs continued to gain an ever-larger share of the national population. One new population trend did appear: the movement of people out of SMSAs to the nonmetropolitan--and still essentially rural--areas outside of SMSAs and even to nonmetropolitan areas a substantial distance away from any SMSA.

The Demography of the Nation's Blacks during the 1970s

The general demographic trends described above were the trends among the nation's population as a whole during the

1970s. To what extent did the demographic trends of the black minority population correspond to these overall trends?

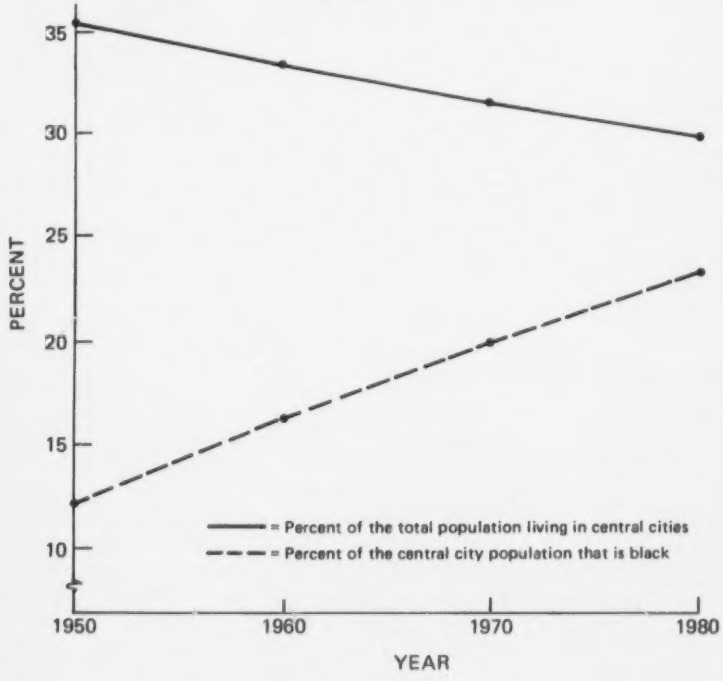
If one looks at the trends among blacks in the most general way, they might appear to be similar to demographic trends among the overall population. As the share of the total population living in the central cities declined, for example, so too did the proportion of the nation's blacks living in central cities. As the suburbs of SMSAs continued to show enormous growth, so too did they show substantial growth in the number of black residents. And, in consonance with the sweeping amount of growth that has been occurring in the South in the last three decades, there was net in-migration to the South among blacks in the 1970s after many decades of net out-migration.

Because of these similiarities between the demographic trends among the nation's blacks and those of the overall population, some observers have concluded that the federal and state legislation enacted over the past 20 years to bring blacks and other minorities into the social and economic mainstream of the United States is functioning reasonably well. This monograph, however, offers a closer look at the demographic, and to a certain extent, economic changes that occurred among the black population in the 1970s. This closer look clearly suggests that several of the major demographic trends among blacks resemble those of the overall population only superficially. Except for a noteworthy growth in the percentage of the nation's blacks living in what are generally referred to as suburbs, demographic shifts among the black population continue to lag behind the demographic shifts of the overall population.

The following chapters show, for example, that although the proportion of all the nation's blacks living in central cities has declined, blacks now comprise a much larger percentage of the population of the central cities because whites have continued to move out of those cities at a much faster rate than blacks (see Figure 1.1). What happened during the decade, as later chapters of this monograph point out, is that the central cities (particularly those of the largest SMSAs) became to a much greater extent than ever before the residence of two very different groups: affluent whites (with a small admixture of especially fortunate blacks) and an underclass comprised chiefly of blacks with a decreasing number of opportunities for working and educating themselves out of poverty and into the mainstream. As the largest central cities--which remained the destination of many migrating blacks in all regions of the country, especially the South--lost thousands of jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the number of such jobs rose substantially in smaller SMSAs and in nonmetropolitan areas.

The closer inspection of the growth in the black population of the suburbs provided in this monograph also suggests that

Figure 1.1. Percent of the total population located in central cities, and percent of the central-city population that is black, 1950-1980.



statistics may be deceptive in isolation. Despite the substantial growth in the black population of the country's suburbs, most of this growth took place in the inner suburbs--geographical areas that have become increasingly similar to the central cities and less and less like the traditional suburbs of single-family homes, broad lawns, and quiet streets. The suburbs that still fit that description have remained overwhelmingly white.

Another noteworthy difference between the demographic trends of the general population and those of the black population during the 1970s was the difference in population growth in nonmetropolitan areas. Among the general population, there was a distinct trend toward greater movement out of metropolitan areas to nonmetropolitan areas. Among the black population, on the other hand, the trend was in the opposite direction--i.e., greater movement out of nonmetropolitan areas into SMSAs.

The political and public policy implications to be drawn from the closer inspection of black demographic trends contained in the first two parts of the JCPS report and summarized in this monograph will be discussed in a third, and final, part of the study, which is now in preparation. At this point, it may be sufficient to suggest that the differences in demographic trends between blacks and whites that occurred during the 1970s convey a message of their own.

2. HISTORIC TRENDS IN BLACK MIGRATION SINCE 1870

Five years after the Civil War ended in 1865, 90.6 percent of the black population in the United States still lived in the South, all but a handful of them in farm and rural areas. Another 5.6 percent were living in the North Central region of the country, and 3.7 percent were located in the Northeast. Only 0.1 percent of the country's blacks lived in the West at that time (see Table 2.1).

These percentages changed very little during the next 40 years: by 1910, 89 percent of the country's blacks still resided in the South; there had been only a small amount of growth in the percentage of blacks living in the Northeast and the West; and there had been a small decline in the percentage living in the North Central region. The lack of mobility among blacks was the result of several factors, including the poverty of blacks in the South and post-slavery tenant-farmer arrangements that bound former slaves to land they had once tilled as slaves.

The most significant obstacle to the movement of blacks out of the South in those decades, however, was the migration of millions of Europeans to the United States, chiefly from eastern and southern Europe. These European immigrants provided the low-cost labor needed in the rapidly growing industrial cities of the North, the result being that blacks continued to find few job opportunities outside the South.

The Trek North

This pattern of limited black migration out of the South changed drastically with the onset of World War I. European immigration fell sharply, the agricultural South experienced economic difficulties, and blacks continued to be excluded from the political and economic mainstream in the South.

Table 2.1. Distribution of the black population, by region, 1790-1980.

Year	Total		Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1790	757	100	67	8.9	0	0	690	91.1	0	0
1800	1,002	100	83	8.3	1	0.1	918	91.6	0	0
1810	1,377	100	102	7.4	-	0.5	1,268	92.1	0	0
1820	1,776	100	114	6.4	18	1.0	1,644	92.6	0	0
1830	2,329	100	125	5.4	42	1.8	2,162	92.8	0	0
1840	2,873	100	142	4.9	89	3.1	2,642	92.0	0	0
1850	3,639	100	150	4.1	136	3.7	3,352	92.1	1	-
1860	4,441	100	156	3.5	184	4.1	4,097	92.3	4	-
1870	4,880	100	180	3.7	273	5.6	4,421	90.6	6	.1
1880	6,581	100	229	3.5	386	5.9	5,954	90.5	12	.1
1890	7,489	100	270	3.6	431	5.8	6,761	90.3	27	.4
1900	8,834	100	385	4.4	496	5.6	7,923	89.7	30	.3
1910	9,827	100	484	4.9	543	5.5	8,749	89.0	51	.5
1920	10,463	100	679	6.5	793	7.6	8,912	85.2	79	.8
1930	11,891	100	1,147	9.6	1,262	10.6	9,362	78.7	120	1.0
1940	12,866	100	1,370	10.6	1,420	11.0	9,905	77.0	171	1.3
1950	15,042	100	2,018	13.4	2,228	14.8	10,225	68.0	571	3.8
1960	18,872	100	3,028	16.0	3,446	18.3	11,312	59.9	1,086	5.8
1970	22,581	100	4,344	19.2	4,572	20.2	11,970	53.0	1,695	7.5
1980	26,489	100	4,849	18.3	5,337	20.1	14,061	53.0	2,262	8.5

(Figures in 1000s)

Source: All figures prior to 1980 are taken from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2, Washington, D.C., 1975; 1980 figures are taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, United States Summary, PHC-V-1.

As a result, the number of blacks living in the North Central region increased by 46 percent between 1910 and 1920, while the number in the Northeast increased by 40 percent. Most of this growth in the black population of the North occurred after 1916 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975).

Between 1920 and 1930, black migration from the South intensified; the increase in the black population of the Northeast swelled to almost 70 percent, while that of the North Central region rose to 59 percent. By 1930, both the Northeast and North Central regions had black populations in excess of one million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975).

The Depression of the 1930s sharply curtailed black migration from the South. During that decade, the black population in the Northeast increased by only 14 percent and the increase in the North Central region amounted to only 12.5 percent. Even so, the South experienced a further net out-migration of nearly half a million blacks.

World War II, like World War I, caused an increased demand for labor in the industrial North and the far West, and blacks responded to this demand. By the end of the 1940s, the South still held 68 percent of the country's black population, but the growth rate of the southern black population during this decade was only 1 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975). By contrast, the West averaged a 12 percent annual increase, the North Central region 4.5 percent, and the Northeast region 3 percent (Johnson & Campbell, 1981, p. 102).

The movement of blacks to the North and West continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Between 1950 and 1970, the black population of the North more than doubled, from about 4.2 million to 8.9 million. In the same period, the black population of the West tripled, rising from 571,000 to 1.7 million.

The Cityward Movement of Blacks

The mass migration of blacks from an economically depressed and socially suffocating South to the North and the West was more than simply a regional shift; it also constituted a pronounced rural-to-urban shift. As black migrants moved to northern cities in large numbers after 1910, they clustered overwhelmingly in parts of the larger SMSAs. Thus, by 1980, 34 percent of all blacks lived in only seven major urban centers: New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, Los Angeles, and Baltimore.

First and foremost, blacks migrated from the South to take advantage of the economic opportunities believed to be available in the major cities of the North. For most of this century, large

cities have provided the bulk of employment opportunities for the country's large pool of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. In moving to specific cities, blacks (like virtually all other migrants) were pulled as well to established communities of friends and relatives in which they could find social, cultural, and economic support.

The development pattern of the cities also facilitated the migration of blacks. Most long-time residents of the city, as they move up socially and economically, acquire housing in the suburbs or beyond. This makes room for newcomers to the central city. As large numbers of the white population moved out to the suburbs, blacks were able to take their place in the city. This process has characterized metropolitan area growth, especially in the older cities of the North, for over 100 years. To a great extent, however, blacks have not experienced the upward mobility of earlier arrivals to the cities. In many cases, they were the last arrivals, and they have remained trapped at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, in large part because of the persistence of racial discrimination and segregation.

References

Johnson, Daniel M., and Rex Campbell, 1981. Black Migration in America. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975. Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970.

3. REGIONAL TRENDS IN POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION, 1950-1980

One of the most striking overall patterns of population redistribution in the United States over the last three decades has been the decline in growth rates in the North and the increase in growth rates in the South. This pattern can be seen in Table 3.1, which shows the population of each region and division for 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

Between 1950 and 1960, the population in the Northeast region grew by 13.2 percent and the population of the North Central region grew by 16.1 percent, which was only slightly below the national average of 18.3 percent. In the 1960s, the growth rate dropped to 9.8 percent for the Northeast region and 9.6 percent for the North Central Region, compared to a national figure of 13.4 percent. An even steeper decline occurred during the 1970s, when both regions experienced very low growth rates--0.2 percent for the Northeast and 4.0 percent for the North Central region, compared to a national average of 11.4 percent.

In contrast, the South--which had a slower than average growth rate in the 1950s and a slightly higher than average growth rate in the 1960s--experienced a growth rate during the 1970s of 20.0 percent, almost twice the national average.

The West has demonstrated higher growth rates than any other region during each decade since 1950. But the West's growth rate has fallen in each succeeding decade and was only 3.9 percentage points higher than that of the South during the 1970s.

The growth patterns are different, however, if one examines the change in absolute numbers of people instead of percentages. Except for the 1950s, when the West showed slightly more growth in terms of actual number of people, the South has experienced more absolute population growth than any other region. This was particularly true during the 1970s, when the South added more people to its population than any region ever has in any decade in U.S. history. The population of the South grew by 12.5 million people between 1970 and 1980, during

Table 3.1. Distribution of total population, by region and division, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

	1950*	1960*	1970*	1980**	Change 1950-60 #	Change 1950-60 %	Change 1960-70 #	Change 1960-70 %	Change 1970-80 #	Change 1970-80 %	Change 1950-80 #	Change 1950-80 %
Total U.S.	131,326	179,323	203,302	226,505	27,997	18.5	23,979	13.4	23,203	11.4	75,179	49.7
Regions												
Northeast	39,478	44,678	49,061	49,137	5,200	13.2	4,383	9.8	76	0.2	9,659	24.5
North Central	44,461	51,619	56,589	58,854	7,158	16.1	4,970	9.6	2,265	4.0	14,393	32.4
South	47,197	54,973	62,812	75,349	7,776	16.5	7,839	14.3	12,537	20.0	28,152	59.6
West	20,190	28,053	34,838	43,165	7,863	38.9	6,785	24.2	8,327	23.9	22,975	113.8
Divisions												
New England	9,314	10,509	11,848	12,348	1,195	12.8	1,339	12.7	500	4.2	3,034	32.6
Middle Atlantic	30,164	34,168	37,213	36,788	4,004	13.3	3,045	8.9	-425	-1.1	6,624	22.0
E. North Central	30,399	36,225	40,262	41,670	5,826	19.2	4,037	11.1	1,408	3.5	11,271	37.1
W. North Central	14,061	15,394	16,327	17,184	1,333	9.5	933	6.1	857	5.2	3,123	22.2
South Atlantic	21,182	25,972	30,678	36,943	4,790	22.6	4,706	18.1	6,265	20.4	15,761	74.4
E. South Central	11,477	12,050	12,808	14,663	573	5.0	758	6.3	1,855	14.5	3,186	27.8
W. South Central	14,538	16,951	19,326	23,743	2,413	16.6	2,375	14.0	4,417	22.9	9,205	63.3
Mountain	5,075	6,855	8,289	11,368	1,780	35.1	1,434	20.9	3,079	37.1	6,293	124.0
Pacific	15,115	21,198	26,549	31,797	6,083	40.2	5,351	25.2	5,248	19.8	16,682	110.4

(Figures in 1000s)

*U.S. Bureau of the Census, State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1979 (A Statistical Abstract Supplement), U.S. Government Printing Office: 1980.

**1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, PHC 80-V-1, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Map 2. Census regions and geographic divisions of the United States.

which time the population of the West increased by 8.3 million and that of the North as a whole (the Northeast and North Central regions combined) by less than 2.5 million.

Table 3.2 shows that the growth of the black population in the four regions differed somewhat from the growth pattern of the population as a whole. During the 1950s and the 1960s, the black population of the South grew at a much slower rate than in any other region, due to a heavy out-migration of blacks. The growth rate of the black population in the North Central region during the 1950s was 5 times that of the South, and during the 1960s, the growth rate of the black population in the West was nearly 10 times that of the South.

The 1970s brought a striking reversal of this pattern. The black population in the South grew by 17.3 percent between 1970 and 1980, a larger rate of increase than that of either the Northeast (11.6 percent) or North Central region (16.7 percent). The West continued to have the largest percentage increase (33.5 percent), just as it did during the 1950s and 1960s, but the rate of population growth among blacks in the West during the 1970s was only about one-third of the rate it had been during the 1950s.

Examination of absolute growth of the black population in each region is also revealing. The numerical increase in the black population of the South was actually greater than that in the black populations of the West during the 1950s and 1960s, despite the fact that the West exhibited a much higher rate of growth. Furthermore, the absolute growth of the black population in the South (2,071,000) during the 1970s was three times that of the North Central region and four times that experienced in the Northeast or the West. The increase in the black population of the South between 1970 and 1980, in fact, was the largest single increase among blacks in any region, for any decade, in history.

The net increase in the black population of the South during the 1970s was related to changes in the national economy (Pettigrew, 1980; Long and Hansen, 1975; Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1981). During the decade, the industrial cities of the North suffered through unprecedented declines, while the South experienced a dramatic increase in employment opportunities (see Table 3.3). Thus, close to one-third (31.9 percent) of all employed civilians lived in the South by 1980. The proportion of the labor force in both the Northeast and North Central regions, on the other hand, declined steadily between 1950 and 1980.

As the number of jobs in the South expanded, family income also increased. Table 3.4 shows that in 1950, the median family income for families in the South was 78 percent of the national average. By 1980, however, the median family income for the South was 91.1 percent of the national average.

Table 3.4. Median family income in 1980 dollars, by region, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

Region	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	Income	%*	Income	%*	Income	%*	Income	%*
Northeast	$11,162	107.9	$13,336	107.8	$17,962	108.4	$21,856	104.0
North Central	11,163	107.9	12,741	103.0	17,341	104.6	21,736	103.4
South	8,076	78.0	9,653	78.0	14,361	86.6	19,142	91.1
West	11,225	108.5	14,411	116.5	17,251	104.1	22,281	106.0
U.S.	10,349		12,374		16,577		21,023	

*This figure expresses the regional figures as a percentage of the U.S. average.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, for appropriate years.

The Relationship between Employment and Population Movement

Greenwood (1980) describes the basic relationship between employment and population as follows: "Regional employment and population changes are expected to be, and indeed are positively correlated." The connecting link between employment opportunities and population redistribution is migration. When new economic opportunities emerge, people move to take advantage of those opportunities. As Kuznets (1964) and others point out, migration is a societal adjustment mechanism which fosters population movement in response to changes in economic conditions. While other factors may also be related to migration--for example, life cycle changes such as marriage or retirement--it is widely believed that economic forces are the primary cause of migration trends.

One would therefore expect recent migration patterns to be closely related to changes in national and regional economies. This proves to be the case, except that the movement of blacks from one region to another over the last three decades has lagged behind that of whites. This same lag was evidenced in earlier periods in the delayed movement of southern blacks to northern cities and the slow movement of blacks to the West.

The growth of employment opportunities in nonmetropolitan areas has also been a significant factor in the shift of the nation's population as a whole, and a great deal of this growth has been occurring in the South. Nonetheless, blacks moving to the South, or moving from one southern location to another, have generally been moving to metro areas in the South. The nonmetro black population of the South decreased by over half a million people between 1970 and 1980.

This may seem confusing at first glance. Why aren't southern blacks remaining in, or moving to, those areas of the nonmetro South, where new jobs are emerging? One clue can be obtained from work done by Berry and Silverman (1980), who maintain that "...only one of the nation's rural areas continues to lose population through migration: the Old Tobacco and Cotton Belt extending from the North Carolina Cape to the Delta area of the Mississippi River. This area, which contains a large rural black population, has not benefited significantly from the decentralization of manufacturing and continues to lose residents through out-migration to cities of both the North and the South."

That is to say, new industries have not located at random throughout the South. Thompson (1975) states that manufacturing firms favor the predominantly white areas of the nonmetro South and are not locating in largely black areas. There are a number of reasons for this new form of racial discrimination, according to Thompson. Hill country white workers are free thinkers who

reject unions, while black workers seek the protection of unions. Manufacturing firms found that with white labor, there is neither a union problem nor a racial problem.

Thus, the notion that growth of industry in the South has been universally beneficial to the indigenous black population is unsupported. The areas of the South where the bulk of the black population live are not gaining employment opportunities as rapidly as the areas of the South that are predominantly white.

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4. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS, 1950-1980

Metropolitan Growth

The growth in the number of SMSAs in the United States during the period 1950 to 1980 was one of the most significant national demographic trends of the period. During those 30 years, the number of SMSAs nearly doubled. In 1950, there were 168 designated metro areas, and these areas contained somewhat over half (56.1 percent) of the nation's population. By 1960, the number of SMSAs had grown to 209 and included 63.0 percent of the country's population. The 1970 Census showed 243 SMSAs, where 68.6 percent of the population lived. The 323 metropolitan areas determined on the basis of the 1980 Census contained 74.8 percent of the total population (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 also shows that, during this 30-year period, the total population living in metropolitan areas doubled, rising from about 85 million in 1950 to around 170 million in 1980. The suburbs, in particular, experienced unprecedented population growth during this period. Between about 1950 and 1970, the growth in metropolitan areas aroused considerable concern. As one demographer put it:

> Migration from rural areas to the nation's cities during the 1950s and 1960s caused much alarm in popular and professional circles. The movement was seen as a major contributor to urban sprawl and central city deterioration, on the one hand, and to rural decline on the other. Indeed, while the nation grew by 18 percent in the 1950s, 1,400 nonmetropolitan counties lost population, and again in the following decade, 1,300 nonmetropolitan areas experienced population losses. (Tucker, 1976, p. 435).

Racial Differences in Metropolitan Population Patterns

Figure 4.1 shows that there are now substantial differences in the distribution of blacks and whites and indicates how changes in the distribution of these two populations over the last 30 years have differed.

In 1980, about three-quarters of the white population and four-fifths of the black population were located in metro areas (i.e., central cities and suburbs). However, almost one-half of the white population was in the suburbs, compared to less than one quarter of the black population. On the other hand, more than half of the black population (57.8 percent) was located in central cities, compared to exactly one-quarter of the white population.

Between 1950 and 1980, the proportions of both the black and the white populations living in nonmetro areas declined--a decline that was more rapid for blacks than for whites. The proportion of the white population in the central cities decreased by nearly 7 percent, while the percentage of the black population residing in central cities increased from 41.2 percent to 57.8 percent. Meanwhile, the proportion of both populations living in the suburbs more than doubled.

Nationally, the percentage of the black population living in metro areas has increased at a faster rate during the last 30 years than the percentage of the white population living in metro areas. In 1950, 52.7 percent of all blacks were located in metro areas, while the proportion of whites in these areas was slightly higher, at 56.4 percent. By 1960, the percentage of the black population living in metro areas slightly exceeded the percentage of the white population living there, and by 1980, the percentage of the black population residing in metro areas had risen to 81.1, compared to 73.3 percent of the white population (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 also shows that there were dramatic differences among the four major regions at each census, and that there have been regional differences over time in the metro/nonmetro distribution of blacks and whites. One thing has not changed, however. It is clear that now, as in the past, the vast majority of nonmetropolitan blacks are found in the South. Fewer than half a million blacks lived in nonmetro areas outside the South in 1980, but the nonmetro South was home for over 4.5 million blacks.

The other side of the coin is that the black population outside the South is overwhelmingly metropolitan (Table 4.2). In each of the three regions outside the South, over 95 percent of the black population was located in metro areas in 1980, and in each of these regions, the percentage of blacks in metro areas increased between 1950 and 1980. In the South, on the other hand, only 67 percent of the region's black population lived in

Figure 4.1. Distribution of black and white populations, 1950 and 1980.

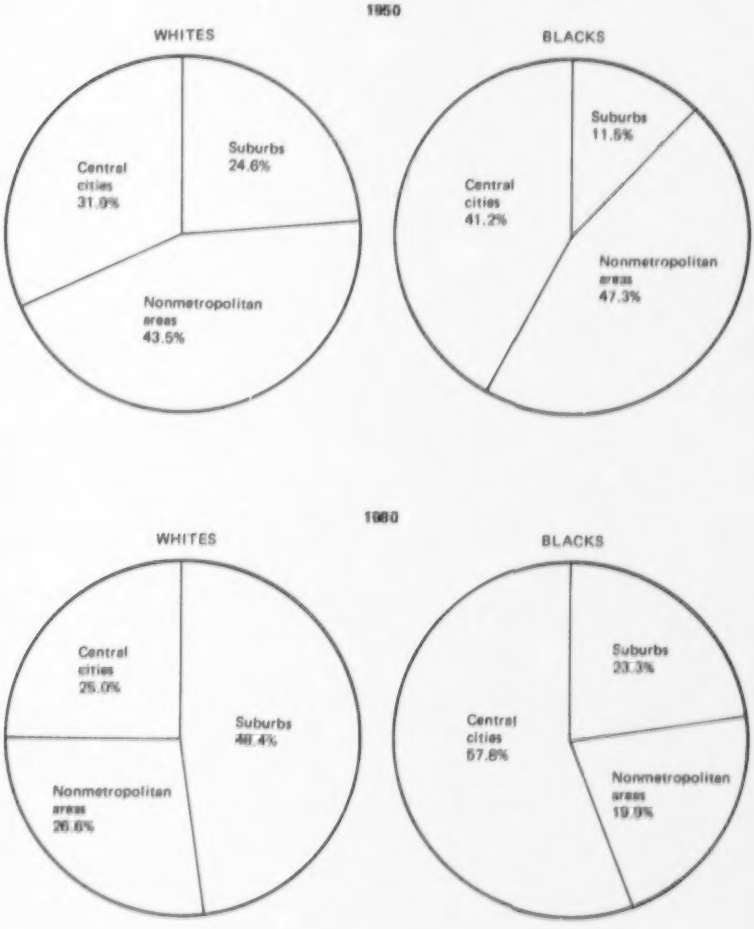


Table 4.2. Percent of whites and blacks in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, by region, 1950-1980.

	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Total U.S.								
Metro	56.5	52.7	62.8	64.7	67.8	74.3	73.3	81.1
Non-Metro	43.5	47.3	37.2	35.3	32.2	25.7	26.7	18.9
Northeast								
Metro	77.8	94.8	78.0	94.3	78.3	95.5	82.7	98.1
Non-Metro	22.2	5.2	22.0	5.7	21.7	4.5	17.3	1.9
North Central								
Metro	52.6	88.6	57.7	91.8	64.2	93.9	68.1	95.7
Non-Metro	47.4	11.4	42.3	8.2	35.8	6.1	31.9	4.3
South								
Metro	37.4	34.8	48.7	45.9	56.0	56.1	66.3	67.0
Non-Metro	62.6	65.2	51.3	54.1	44.0	43.9	33.7	33.0
West								
Metro	63.4	85.7	71.2	92.3	78.1	95.4	81.2	97.1
Non-Metro	39.6	14.3	28.8	7.7	21.9	4.6	18.8	2.9

Sources: 1950-1970 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2, Washington, D.C., 1975; and 1980 data: Unpublished provisional data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

metropolitan areas in 1980. Nonetheless, the significance of the South to black metropolitan demographics can be seen by the fact that the South has a much larger black metropolitan population than any other region. In 1980, there were 9.4 million blacks living in metro areas of the South, compared to 4.7 million in the Northeast, 5.1 million in the North Central region, and less than 2.2 million in the West.

While the movement of blacks from nonmetro to metro areas remained relatively constant during the 1970s, Table 4.3 shows that their destination within metropolitan areas changed. There was an increase in the number of blacks moving from nonmetro areas to suburbs, and a corresponding decrease in movement from nonmetro areas to central cities. Although blacks continued to move from nonmetro areas to central cities in the 1970s, the rate of that movement was five times greater in the first half of the 1970s than in the second half--a net movement of 5 per 1000 in 1970-75, declining to 1 per 1000 in 1975-80. This change was probably related to the expansion of the black suburban population in the 1970s, particularly during the latter half of the decade. The movement of blacks from nonmetro areas to suburbs increased from 5 per 1000 in the first half of the decade to 10 per 1000 in the second half of the 1970s.

Table 4.4 shows that movement into and out of metro areas between 1975 and 1980 was clearly related to age among both blacks and whites. Young adults (age 16-24) of both races showed a net movement into metro areas during this period. In the 25 to 34 age bracket, the total number of unmarried whites moving to metro areas nearly equaled the number of unmarried whites moving out, but unmarried blacks in this age group showed a decided pattern of net migration to metro areas. Among married couples in this age group, however, there was a migration stream away from metro areas to nonmetro areas (not shown in table). And among older individuals (age 35+), most of whom are parents, there was a very pronounced net migration out of metropolitan areas, especially among whites, but among blacks as well. Among whites, this migration of older people out of metro areas more than matched the in-migration of people under 35, resulting in a net out-migration of whites from metro areas between 1970 and 1980. Among blacks, on the other hand, the out-migration of older people did not counterbalance the youthful movement to metro areas.

Variations in Population Growth According to SMSA Size

Table 4.5 shows population growth patterns during the 1970s for SMSAs according to size, as well as changes in the two

Table 4.3. Net migration between cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas among whites and blacks, 1970-1975 and 1975-1980.

	1970-1975*		1975-1980**	
	White	Black	White	Black
Central Cities to Suburbs	45	20	40	24
Central Cities to Nonmetro	11	-5	8	-1
Suburbs to Nonmetro	4	-5	5	-10

Figures are net migration per 1,000 population at the beginning of the period.

*U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 285, Geographical Mobility: March 1970 to March 1975, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975.

**U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 368, Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981.

Table 3.2. Distribution of the black population, by region and division, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

	1950*	1960*	1970*	1980**	Change 1950-60 #	Change 1950-60 %	Change 1960-70 #	Change 1960-70 %	Change 1970-80 #	Change 1970-80 %	Change 1950-80 #	Change 1950-80 %
Total U.S.	15,045	18,872	22,580	26,488	3,827	25.4	3,708	19.6	3,908	17.3	11,443	76.1
Regions												
Northeast	2,018	3,028	4,344	4,849	1,010	50.0	1,316	43.5	505	11.6	2,831	140.3
North Central	2,228	3,446	4,572	5,337	1,218	54.7	1,126	32.7	765	16.7	3,109	139.5
South	10,225	11,312	11,970	14,041	1,087	10.6	658	5.8	2,071	17.3	3,816	37.3
West	573	1,086	1,695	2,262	513	89.5	609	56.1	567	33.5	1,689	294.8
Divisions												
New England	143	243	388	475	100	69.9	145	59.7	87	22.4	332	232.2
Middle Atlantic	1,875	2,785	3,956	4,374	910	48.5	1,171	42.0	418	10.6	2,499	133.3
E. North Central	1,804	2,885	3,873	4,548	1,081	59.9	988	34.2	675	17.4	2,744	152.1
W. North Central	424	561	699	789	137	32.3	138	24.6	90	12.9	365	86.1
South Atlantic	5,095	5,845	6,388	7,648	750	14.7	543	9.3	1,260	19.7	2,553	50.1
E. South Central	2,699	2,699	2,571	2,868	0	0	-128	-4.7	297	11.6	169	6.3
W. South Central	2,432	2,768	3,010	3,525	336	13.8	242	8.7	515	17.1	1,093	44.9
Mountain	66	123	180	269	57	86.4	57	46.3	89	49.4	203	307.6
Pacific	507	962	1,514	1,993	455	89.7	552	57.4	479	31.6	1,486	293.1

(Figures in 1000s)

*U.S. Bureau of the Census, State and Metropolitan Area Data Book 1979, (A Statistical Abstract Supplement), U.S. Government Printing Office: 1980.

**1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, PHC 80-V-1, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 3.3. Number of people employed in civilian labor force, by region, 1950-1980.

Region	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Northeast	15,295	27.4	17,107	26.3	19,271	25.2	21,473	22.1
North Central	17,033	30.5	18,903	29.1	21,650	28.3	26,011	26.7
South	16,412	29.4	18,958	29.2	22,797	29.8	30,990	31.9
West	7,478	12.6	10,014	15.4	12,836	16.8	18,575	19.3
Total	55,787	(99.9)	64,982	(100.0)	76,554	(100.1)	97,269	(100.0)

(Figures in 1000s; percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.)

Sources: 1950 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Bureau of the Census.
1960 Census of Population and Housing, Table 251 - Employment Status by Age, Color, Sex for Regions, Urban and Rural: 1960, U.S. Bureau of the Census.
1970 Census of Population and Housing, Table 1 - Census Regions, Divisions and States, U.S. Bureau of the Census.
Civilian Labor Force, Employment and Unemployment for Regions and States, 1979-80 annual averages, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey, USDL 81-68, Table 1.

Table 4.1. Metropolitan areas and metropolitan populations, 1950-1980.

	1950	1960	1970	1980
Number of SMSAs	168	209	243	323
Population in SMSAs (in thousands)	84,854	112,885	139,419	169,405
Percent of Total Population in SMSAs	56.1	63.0	68.6	74.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1980 (101st edition.) Washington, D.C., 1980, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Standard Consolidated Areas: 1980, PC80-S1-5.

components of metro areas, i.e., central cities and suburbs. The mean percent growth of the white population systematically decreased as the size of the SMSA increased. Among the smallest class of metro areas, those with less than 250,000 people, the white population increased an average of 12.9 percent between 1970 and 1980. But among SMSAs in the largest size category, those of one million and over, the white population grew by an average of only 4.3 percent. The increase in the black population, on the other hand, was more than 25 percent among all sizes of SMSAs and showed no clear relationship to SMSA size. Thus, while whites showed a growing preference for living in smaller SMSAs and in nonmetro areas during the 1970s, blacks continued to move into large SMSAs as well as medium-sized and small ones.

The data in Table 4.5 show that it was the central-city portion of SMSAs that accounted for the association between SMSA size and white population growth. In SMSAs of fewer than 250,000, the white population in the central cities showed a mean increase of 4.3 percent. However, the rate of growth was lower in the next largest SMSA category (250,000 to 499,999), and the growth rate for whites in central cities was negative among SMSAs over 500,000. The mean percent change among the white populations of the suburbs, on the other hand, showed no clear relationship to SMSA size.

Metro Growth among Blacks by Region and SMSA Size

The increase in the black metropolitan population between 1970 and 1980 is disaggregated by region and 1970 SMSA size in Table 4.6, which shows that half of the total increase in the black metropolitan population occurred in the metropolitan areas of the South. The national black metro population grew by 3.5 million; the southern black metro population, by 1.7 million. The latter figure is not surprising, since the South had the largest black population of any region in 1970. The net in-migration of blacks to the South during the 1970s was also a factor in this increase.

Of the increase of 3.5 million black people in all SMSAs, more than half (2.035 million) occurred in SMSAs of over one million population. Although the black population of large SMSAs in both the South and the North showed substantial growth during the 1970s (769,000 in the South and 858,000 in the North), smaller-sized SMSAs showed notable regional differences. In SMSAs under 250,000, the South gained three times as many black people as similar-sized SMSAs in the North--291,000 in the South

versus 93,000 in the North. (The number of SMSAs in this category was almost the same for the South as for the two northern regions combined.) SMSAs between 250,000 and one million population showed a similar pattern, growing by over 700,000 in the South but only by about 250,000 in the North.

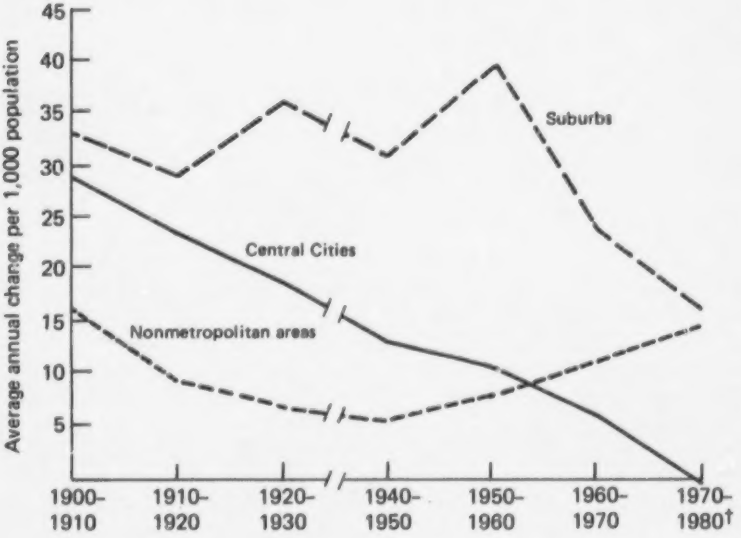
The growth of the black population in smaller SMSAs of the South is probably related to the fact that blacks have lived in these areas for decades. The presence of black communities in the smaller SMSAs of the South has helped to ease the transition from rural to urban life among black migrants by helping them avoid the unknown risks of moving into a largely white neighborhood or community.

The Growth of the Nonmetropolitan Population

The exodus of white residents from the central cities to the suburbs, one of the primary demographic characteristics of the last 30 years, is now expanding into a movement of whites from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas. Figure 4.2 shows the long-term trends in the growth of central cities, suburbs, and nonmetro areas. (The anomalous Depression decade of 1930 to 1940 is omitted.) This figure indicates that the growth rate of the central cities peaked no later than 1900-1910 and has been decreasing since 1900. The suburban growth rate peaked in the 1950s and declined substantially in the 1960s and 1970s. The nonmetro growth rate, however, has been increasing steadily since the 1940s and passed the growth rate of the central cities sometime in the late 1950s or early 1960s. The growth trends of the 1970s suggest that in the 1980s, the nonmetro growth rate may surpass the suburban growth rate as well. This sequence of peak growth periods, first in the central cities, then in the suburbs, and probably soon in nonmetro areas, reflects a continuing dispersion of population outward from core urban areas. This deconcentration has been extensively documented by Long (1981).

The increase in nonmetro growth during the 1970s can be attributed largely to migration rather than to an increase in nonmetropolitan birth rates. Table 4.7 shows migration figures for the total population and the black population during three recent periods: 1965-70, 1970-75, and 1975-80. For the total population, there was net out-migration from metro areas during each period and the amount of out-migration grew dramatically during the 1970s. During that decade, the net out-migration from metro areas was about four to five times that of the late 1960s.

Figure 4.2. Average annual rate of change in total population of central cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas, 1900–1980.*



Source: Data from Long 1981, Table 15.

*Period from 1930–40 is not included.
†1980 Data reflect SMSAs as of January 1, 1980

It is apparent from Table 4.7, however, that the aggregate figures conceal substantial differences between black and white migration patterns. During the 1965-70 period, the total population (which is largely white) showed a net out-migration of 352,000 from metro areas, while blacks exhibited a net in-migration to metro areas of 218,000. Blacks also showed a net migration movement counter to that of the general population during the two subsequent five-year periods. This indicates that, with respect to nonmetro areas in general, blacks and whites have been moving in opposite directions for the last 15 years.

The Centralization/Decentralization Process in the United States

For at least a century, people have been moving into the central cities, be it from rural areas or from abroad, and then gradually moving outward. A large part of the population movement into the central cities was the result of structural changes in the economy, which reduced the need for labor on the farms at the same time that the demand for urban labor was increasing. The suburbanization process was the result of other changes, chiefly in transportation, which allowed people to work in the central city yet reside in the suburbs. Eventually, employment opportunities in the suburbs themselves began to grow.

The current trend toward nonmetropolitan living is also related to new economic developments. Jackson et. al. (1981, p. 12-13) summarize these economic trends as follows:

> A major feature of recent growth in the United States has been the geographic decentralization of economic activity and population. In aggregate terms, this took the form of a relative shift of employment, income and population away from the older, more industrialized, densely settled regions of the North toward the 'newer' (in terms of maturity of economic structure), less industrialized and more sparsely settled regions of the South and West. In terms of distribution within regions, there has also been a shift of economic activity, away from metropolitan areas to nonmetropolitan areas of regions.

This shift has not been without socioeconomic consequences, which are reflected in poverty data analyzed by O'Hare (1981). The poverty rate among the nonmetro population dropped by nearly 50 percent between 1959 and 1980 (from 33.2 percent to 15.4 percent), while the metropolitan poverty rate

decreased by less than one-third over the same period. During the 1970s, the poverty rate in nonmetropolitan areas dropped from 19.3 percent to 15.4 percent, but the poverty rate in metro areas increased from 11.0 percent to 11.9 percent. The fall in the nonmetropolitan poverty rate and the rise in the metro poverty rate during the 1970s may be related to the growth in nonmetro areas as well as the continued migration from nonmetro to metro areas of low-income people looking for employment.

The next logical step in the process would be for blacks to begin moving out of SMSAs, just as a growing percentage of whites have been doing for almost 20 years. The slackening in the net migration rates of blacks to metro areas in the late 1970s suggests that this development may be just around the corner. As indicated earlier (Table 4.7), each five-year period from 1965 through 1980 has seen a lower net migration of blacks to metro areas.

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5. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND CHANGING CONDITIONS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES

Demographic Trends among Blacks in Central Cities

Although similar portions of the black and the white populations of the United States live in metropolitan areas, there are distinct differences in the distribution of the two populations within metropolitan areas. Eighty-one percent of the black population lived in metropolitan areas in 1980, 58 percent of them in central cities (see Table 4.2). In contrast, 73 percent of the white population lived in metropolitan areas, but only 25 percent lived in central cities.

The last column of Table 5.1 shows that the number of central cities with black majorities climbed from 2 in 1960 to 10 in 1980 (see Table 5.2). Five other cities with populations of more than 50,000 also were more than 50 percent black in 1980 but were not included in this table because they are not the central cities of SMSAs. If the trends of the 1970s continue, the number of central cities with black majorities will jump from 10 in 1980 to 32 in 1990, and will then climb to 53 in the year 2000.

While blacks are becoming a larger and larger segment of the central-city population, the aggregate central-city population itself is shrinking. Blacks now comprise about 24 percent of the central-city population, up from 12 percent in 1950, but the portion of the national population that resides in central cities fell from 35.5 percent in 1950 to 30 percent in 1980.

Over one-half of all black central-city residents lived in 13 central cities in 1980. Furthermore, almost one out of every three black central-city residents could be found in five large central cities: New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles/Long Beach. It is interesting to note that none of these cities is in the South, even though 53 percent of the nation's blacks lived in the South in 1980.

Table 5.1. Distribution of SMSAs by percent of the central-city population that is black for 1960, 1970, and 1980, and projected for 1990 and 2000.

Year	Under 25%	25% to 49%	50% or More
1960	225	50	2 (2)
1970	221	53	3 (2)
1980	200	67	10 (8)
1990	176	69	32 (20)
2000	158	66	53 (36)

(Figures in parentheses are in the South.)

Sources: Figures for 1960, 1970, and 1980 are based on Decennial Census figures. Figures for 1990 and 2000 are JCPS projections based on 1970s trends.

Although blacks tend to be concentrated in large central cities, many of these cities actually lost black population during the 1970s. Washington, D.C., for example, lost almost 90,000 black residents in the 1970s, Cleveland lost over 36,000, and St. Louis lost about 48,000. In all, 17 central cities experienced a loss of black population in the 1970s. Since natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) would normally result in population growth, any loss of population indicates substantial out-migration.

Regional Changes in Black Central-City Populations

Eight of the 10 central cities with black majorities in 1980 were in the South. Projections show that by 1990, 20 of the 32 black majority cities will be in the South, and by the year 2000, 36 of the 53 black majority cities will be southern (see Table 5.1).

The growth in the number of southern central cities with black majorities is significant for two reasons. First, the recent reversal of the long-standing pattern of blacks moving from the South to the urban centers of the North has not changed the extent to which blacks are disproportionately located in large central cities. Through a combination of intraregional migration to southern metropolitan areas, migration from other regions to southern metropolitan areas, and increased retention of the southern black metropolitan population, the net flow of black migration turned southward in the 1970s, and to southern central cities in particular.

Second, blacks comprise a larger and larger share of the population of southern central cities, even though there has been a continual migration of whites to the South for more than two decades. This is true even in Houston, which has attracted a particularly large number of white migrants. There, the black proportion of the central-city population rose from 22.9 percent in 1960 to 27.6 percent in 1980.

Table 5.3 indicates that the South had the largest black central-city population of the four regions of the country during the 1950-80 period. About 6.1 million blacks lived in the central cities of the South in 1980, compared to 3.6 million in the Northeast region, 4.1 million in the North Central region, and 1.3 million in the West. In 1950, about 43 percent of the nation's black central-city population resided in the South. In 1960 and 1970, this figure fell to 39 percent and 38 percent respectively, but in 1980, the figure rose to 40 percent.

Table 5.3 shows that while the black central-city population in each of the regions increased over the last three decades, there was a steady decline in the rate of increase from one decade to

Table 4.4. Net migration between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, by age and race, 1975-1980.

	From Outside SMSAs To Inside SMSAs		From Inside SMSAs To Outside SMSAs		Net To SMSAs	
Age	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Under 15	903	118	1,317	85	-414	33
16 - 24	1,484	147	1,338	72	146	75
25 - 34	1,719	122	1,750	71	-31	51
35 +	1,318	82	2,477	125	-1,159	-43

(Figures in 1000s)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 368, Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981.

Table 4.5. Mean percent change in black and white populations, by 1970 SMSA population size, 1970-1980.

1970 SMSA Size	Number of SMSAs	Metro Areas		Central Cities		Suburbs	
		White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Under 250,000	129	12.9	37.9	4.3	43.1	25.9	80.2
250,000 to 499,999	70	10.4	33.0	2.4	37.6	17.7	42.4
500,000 to 999,999	41	9.3	27.5	-10.6	58.2	25.9	55.7
1 million and over	38	4.3	34.6	-16.3	21.7	17.9	102.7
TOTAL	278	10.6	34.7	-1.1	35.7	22.8	70.0

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

Table 4.6. Black population change (1970-1980) in metropolitan areas, by region and 1970 SMSA population size.

1970 SMSA Size	North-east	North Central	(North)	South	West	Total
Under 250,000	25	68	93	291	26	410
Number of SMSAs	24	43	67	58	18	143
250,000 to 499,999	51	58	109	384	71	564
Number of SMSAs	15	15	30	25	11	66
500,000 to 999,999	54	101	155	328	50	533
Number of SMSAs	9	9	18	13	4	35
1 million and over	338	520	858	769	408	2,035
Number of SMSAs	7	10	17	8	9	34
TOTALS	468	747	1,215	1,772	555	3,542
Number of SMSAs	55	77	132	104	42	278

(Figures in 1000s)

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

Table 4.7. Metropolitan and nonmetropolitan migration, 1965-1970, 1970-1975, and 1975-1980.

	1965-70		1970-75		1975-80	
	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black
Metropolitan:						
In-Migrants	5,457	452	5,127	463	5,993	469
Out-Migrants	5,809	234	6,721	325	7,337	353
Net Migration	-352	+218	-1,594	+138	-1,344	+116
Non-Metropolitan:						
In-Migrants	5,809	234	6,721	325	7,337	353
Out-Migrants	5,457	452	5,127	463	5,993	469
Net Migration	+352	-218	+1,594	-138	+1,344	-116

(Figures in 1000s)

Table 5.2. Major cities with black population majorities, 1960, 1970, 1980.

1960	%Black	1970	%Black	1980	%Black
Washington, D.C.*	53.9	Washington, D.C.*	71.1	East St. Louis, IL	95.6
Charleston, SC*	51.0	Compton, CA	70.0	East Orange, NJ	83.5
		East St. Louis, IL	69.1	Compton, CA	74.8
		East Orange, NJ	53.1	Gary, IN*	70.8
		Newark, NJ*	54.2	Washington, D.C.*	70.3
		Gary, IN*	52.8	Atlanta, GA*	66.6
		Atlanta, GA*	51.3	Detroit, MI*	63.1
				Newark, NJ*	58.2
				Inglewood, CA	57.3
				Birmingham, AL*	55.6
				New Orleans, LA*	55.3
				Baltimore, MD*	54.8
				Camden, NJ	53.0
				Richmond, VA*	51.3
				Wilmington, DE*	51.1

*Central Cities of SMSAs.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Abstract of the United States: 1980 (101st edition.) Washington, D.C., 1980; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, 1981.

Table 5.3. Black central-city population, by region, 1950-1980.

	1950	1960	1970	1980	% 1950-60	% 1960-70	% 1970-80
Black Central City Population							
Total U.S.	6,194,948	9,703,584	13,140,331	15,301,400	56.4	35.4	16.4
Northeast	1,522,382	2,320,019	3,369,525	3,617,863	52.4	45.2	7.4
North Central	1,649,926	2,781,924	3,708,004	4,131,394	68.6	33.6	11.4
South	2,675,386	3,876,934	4,945,456	6,191,599	44.9	27.6	25.2
West	347,254	724,707	1,117,345	1,360,544	108.7	54.2	21.8

Figures based on SMSA boundaries at date.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2, Washington, D.C., 1975; and 1980 Data: Unpublished provisional data on race, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

the next. The decline in the growth rates, however, was not uniform. The growth rates of the North and West decreased more than those of the South. During the 1950s and 1960s, the black central-city population of the South increased less rapidly than the black central-city populations of the other regions, but it grew more rapidly than any other region during the 1970s: 25.2 percent, compared to 7.4 percent in the Northeast region, 11.4 percent in the North Central region, and 21.8 percent in the West.

Although the South now has a larger overall black central-city population than any other region, the proportion of the South's black population living in central cities is relatively small compared to that of the other regions. Only 44 percent of the black population of the South resided in central cities in 1980, compared to 74.6 percent in the Northeast, 65.6 percent in the North Central region, and 60.1 percent in the West.

The data in Table 5.3 reflect two distinct trends that have changed the distribution of the black population in the central cities of the four regions. First, the long period of black migration to northern and, to a lesser extent, western central cities--mainly from the rural South--increased the proportion of blacks in central cities in each region, for different reasons. In the North, the reason was an influx of black migrants from the South; in the South, the reason was the outflow of rural blacks. In addition, southern cities experienced some black in-migration from nonmetro areas of the South.

Second, the reversal of the historic black migration trend from South to North in the 1970s resulted in southern cities gaining on northern cities in terms of overall size of black central-city population. In 1970, the black central-city population of the South was 70 percent the size of that in the North. By 1980, the black central-city population of the South was almost 80 percent that of the North.

Black Population Growth in Central Cities by SMSA Size

Table 5.4 shows the change in the black populations of central cities from 1970 to 1980 by region and 1970 SMSA size. In terms of total growth within each size category, SMSAs of one million and over exhibited the largest central-city black population growth--668,000, or 38.8 percent of the total. The largest SMSAs showed substantial growth in each of the four regions.

Almost 44 percent of the total growth in black central-city populations took place in SMSAs with over 250,000 but less than one million people. Black population growth in this category was mainly due to growth in the middle-sized cities of the South.

Among SMSAs with populations of less than a million, southern SMSAs gained far more black central-city inhabitants than their northern counterparts (Table 5.4). In SMSAs under 250,000, for example, the black population in central cities of the North grew by 65,000, while the black central-city population in southern cities of this size grew by 215,000.

In large SMSAs (those over one million), on the other hand, the black central-city population grew by 327,000 in the North, while the corresponding figure for the South was 208,000. Nineteen percent of all black central-city population growth between 1970 and 1980 took place in SMSAs of over one million in the North, compared to only 12.2 percent in large SMSAs in the South.

Black Migration to and from Central Cities in the 1970s

Table 5.5 shows the in-migration, out-migration, and net migration of blacks for central cities and suburbs for the periods 1970 to 1975 and 1975 to 1980. Over the decade, central cities lost 682,000 blacks, the net out-migration figure rising from 243,000 in the first half of the decade to 439,000 in the second half. This significant change was due to an increase in the number of black out-migrants rather than a decrease in the number of black in-migrants. The number of black central-city in-migrants was only 13,000 less in the second half of the decade than it had been in the first half, but the number of out-migrants was 183,000 more. In both periods, the number of black migrants out of the central cities was similar to the number of black in-migrants to the suburbs, reflecting the fact that a vast majority of the blacks who moved to the suburbs during the decade came from central cities.

Table 5.6 shows that all the regions experienced net migration of blacks out of central cities between 1975 and 1980, but that the South had by far the largest net figure--namely 304,000, which was almost three-quarters of the total net black central-city out-migration for the period. Central cities of the Northeast lost 78,000 blacks and central cities of the West lost 49,000 through out-migration. The North Central region, on the other hand, experienced almost no net out-migration of blacks from central cities.

There was more migration to and from central cities of the South than those of any other region. The South had the highest number of black in-migrants to central cities (350,000), accounting for 48 percent of the total for all regions, and the highest number of black out-migrants (654,000), accounting for 56 percent of the total for all regions.

Table 5.5. Central-city and suburban migration of blacks, 1970-1975 and 1975-1980.

	1970-75	1975-80
Central Cities:		
In-Migrants	737	724
Out-Migrants	980	1,163
Net Migration	-243	-439
Suburbs:		
In-Migrants	827	1,123
Out-Migrants	446	567
Net Migration	+381	+556

(Figures in 1000s)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 368, Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981.

Poverty and Gentrification in the Central City

Poverty. The economic condition of a city is closely related to the movement of people into and out of that city. Furthermore, there have been clear changes in the socioeconomic conditions of central-city populations that parallel the racial changes outlined above. Those who leave the central cities differ in certain important ways from those who stay.

Table 5.7 shows the decline in the income level of the black central-city population during the 1970s, both in real dollar terms and in relation to the income of blacks in the suburbs. This decline is at least partially attributable to the movement of relatively better-off blacks to the suburbs. In 1979 dollars, black median income in the central cities declined by 13.9 percent from 1969 to 1979, while median family income for blacks in the suburbs was 9.1 percent higher in 1979 than in 1969. In 1979, the median income of central-city blacks was only 76.8 percent of suburban black median income, whereas 10 years earlier it had been almost identical.

Examination of the change in the degree of black central-city poverty from 1970 to 1980 reveals a similar story (Table 5.7). By 1980, a black family living in the central city was almost 33 percent more likely to be in poverty than a black family in the suburbs, whereas in 1970, such a family was only 4 percent more likely to be in poverty than a black family in the suburbs. The number of black families in central cities living below the poverty line increased significantly between 1970 and 1980.

Another disturbing pattern was the increase in black female-headed households in central cities. The number of such households in central cities increased from 945,000 in 1970 to 1,643,000 in 1980. Nearly 50 percent of these households were living in poverty, and it is certain that many others were just barely above the poverty threshold. In 1980, there were 836,000 female-headed black households in poverty in the central city.

Gentrification. A good deal of attention was paid to the "gentrification" or "back-to-the-city" movement in the 1970s (see Spain, 1981). Almost every large city experienced some degree of neighborhood reinvestment and renovation. Displacement often accompanied this pattern, as young white professionals moved into deteriorated neighborhoods and renovated houses previously occupied by blacks or lower-middle class white ethnic groups.

Although the evidence on gentrification indicates that it has been almost exclusively a white phenomenon, and the movement has had extensive impact in certain local areas, it is clear that gentrification has not offset the general movement of whites out of central cities, nor has it brought new prosperity to most black central-city residents.

Table 5.7. Changes in median family income (1969-1979) and poverty rates (1970-1980) for blacks in central cities and suburbs.

	Central City	Suburbs
1969 Black Median* Family Income	$13,363	$13,833
1979 Black Median* Family Income	$11,596	$15,092
Percent (%) Change 1969 to 1979	-13.9	9.1
1970 Black Poverty Rate (%)	26.0	24.9
1980 Black Poverty Rate (%)	32.3	24.3
Percent (%) Change 1970 to 1980	24.2	-2.4

*In constant 1979 dollars.

Sources: 1969 Income: Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1971, Table 505; 1979 Income: Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1981, Table 748; 1970 Poverty: Current Population Report Series P-60, No. 81; 1980 Poverty: Current Population Report Series P-60, No. 127.

The Changing Central City

The relative decline in the size of the central-city population is largely a result of a steady decline in the industrial centers of the North, which has led to an exodus of middle- and upper-income residents whose jobs or income depended on the industrial base (Lowry, 1980; Kain, 1967; Barabba, 1975.) Although the decline has been more extensive in the North, all large central cities regardless of region have been finding it difficult to attract investment in industries capable of generating jobs for semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Fifty-six percent of all new manufacturing jobs created between 1962 and 1978 were established outside metropolitan areas, 30 percent of them in the nonmetropolitan South.

The growing economy of the South reflects changes in the national economy which favor newer and smaller southern cities over older and larger northern cities. The new southern cities "shared one thundering advantage over the older industrial cities: they had never acquired the fixed physical capital of an earlier era. They could be constructed from scratch to fit the needs of a new period . . . in which factory plant and equipment were themselves increasingly predicated upon a decentralized model" (Gordon, 1978, p. 54).

Norton (1979) examined the 30 largest cities and found that all of the "old" industrial cities in the sample (all of them located in the North) lost manufacturing employment but gained in "selected services" employment between 1948 and 1972. In all the "young" cities in the sample (all but one of them located in the South or the West), there were gains in manufacturing employment, but even in these "young" cities (with the exception of Phoenix), "selected services" employment increased more than manufacturing. "In the long term, the common denominator of the growing younger city has been a healthy manufacturing sector, and that of a declining older city, large and cumulative employment loss in manufacturing" (Norton, 1979, p. 6). The populations of the cities declined or increased in tandem with manufacturing growth or decline in every case (see Norton, 1979, Table 5.1.)

Norton's "life cycle hypothesis" suggests that the pattern of development in younger cities will follow the pattern exhibited by the older ones. As the younger cities of the South and West develop, they too will suffer a decline in manufacturing jobs and population.

Although manufacturing has declined in importance in the older industrial cities, their high technology and financial sectors have grown. Many northern cities are attracting well-paid

professionals who not only work in the central city but often live there as well.

Thus, the retention and in-migration of white-collar professionals is creating central-city populations polarized between the very poor and the affluent. This polarization is exacerbated by economic changes that have reduced the opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled employees to work up through the ranks. Most of the jobs available to the poor inner-city resident are dead-end jobs with no opportunity for advancement.

Economic Decline and the Growth of the Underclass

It is important to view the movement out of the central cities of certain jobs and segments of the population as part of a larger process of economic development, and not as an aberration. It is the older cities, which grew during a highly centralized manufacturing era, that are now experiencing decline. The younger cities, while growing more slowly than most suburbs and nearby nonmetropolitan areas, are still experiencing growth in employment and population.

But even though gradual decentralization may not be harmful in itself, to the country as a whole, it has indeed been problematic to the central cities. As industry and the middle class, both black and white, move elsewhere, a fiscal crisis has developed in many old large central cities. The natural growth process has had negative consequences for the disproportionately black central-city population, a large percentage of which is poor. The central-city tax base, both individual and corporate, has dwindled at the same time that the proportion of needy central-city residents has increased. Recent federal cutbacks have further reduced the assistance available to poor central-city residents, thereby putting more pressure on central-city resources. The Joint Economic Committee of Congress (1982) recently completed an assessment of how large cities have been affected by recent changes in federal tax and spending policy, and the study's conclusion is not encouraging:

> The outlook for cities is bleak. In the declining cities where capital deferrals are accompanied by reductions in service levels and large tax increases, it appears that crisis cannot long be avoided. As the city service levels and physical plant continue to deteriorate in conjunction with increased costs to residents and businesses, those that can, will heed the President's advice and "vote with their feet."

But for another large segment--the central-city poor--moving is not an option. These are the people who are now being referred to collectively as the "underclass." The economic and social isolation of this class will only deepen as better-off blacks continue to leave because of the loss of adequate housing and the dwindling of job opportunities.

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6. BLACK SUBURBANIZATION

During the 1970s, the black population in the suburbs of metropolitan areas increased by almost 2.5 million, compared to an increase of just over 2 million blacks in the central cities. This represented a 70 percent increase in the black suburban population, compared to an increase of only 16.4 percent in the black central-city population (see Table 6.1). The substantial growth in the black population of the suburbs in the 1970s was a distinct change from the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, there was a significant increase in the proportion of blacks in the total suburban population. That proportion rose from 4.8 percent in 1970 to 6.1 percent in 1980, after remaining fairly constant during the previous two decades (see Table 6.2). Table 6.3 shows that the percentage of the black population living in the suburbs more than doubled between 1950 and 1980, rising from 11.5 percent to 23.3 percent. (The percentage of the white population living in the suburbs also doubled during the same period, rising from 24.6 percent to 48.4 percent.)

One reason for the increase in the black suburban population was the increase in black migration from central cities to suburbs. During the 1970s, net black migration to the suburbs amounted to 937,000, while net black migration from the central city amounted to 682,000. The net migration of blacks to the suburbs was greater between 1975 and 1980 (556,000) than it was between 1970 and 1975 (381,000). The increase from the first half of the decade to the second half was 46 percent.

The rapid increase nationally in the black suburban population, however, obscured significant variations among SMSAs. As Nelson (1980) indicates in her examination of the 19 largest SMSAs, the black rates of movement to the suburbs in 12 of those 19 SMSAs increased very little after 1970 and remained well below the rates for whites. On the other hand, the rates of black movement from the city to the suburbs were close to the rates for whites in Washington, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia,

Table 6.3. Percentages of nation's white and black population in central cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas, 1950-1980.

	Central Cities	Suburbs	Nonmetropolitan
1950			
White	31.8	24.6	43.4
Black	41.1	11.5	47.3
1960			
White	30.0	32.9	37.2
Black	51.4	13.3	35.3
1970			
White	27.8	40.0	32.1
Black	58.2	16.1	25.7
1980			
White	25.0	48.4	26.7
Black	57.7	23.3	18.9

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1, 1975; 1980 data: 1980 Census of Population, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Standard Consolidated Areas: 1980, PC80-S1-5.

Table 5.4. Black population change in central cities, by region and 1970 SMSA population size, 1970-1980.

1970 SMSA Size	Northeast	North Central	(North)	South	West	Total
Under 250,000	16	49	65	215	22	302
Percent of total	0.9	2.8	3.7	12.5	1.3	17.5
Number of SMSAs	24	43	67	58	18	143
250,000 - 499,999	38	50	88	260	40	388
Percent of total	2.2	2.9	5.1	15.1	2.3	22.5
Number of SMSAs	15	15	30	25	11	66
500,000 - 999,999	30	68	98	246	21	365
Percent of total	1.7	3.9	5.6	14.3	1.2	21.2
Number of SMSAs	9	9	18	13	4	35
1 million and over	105	222	327	208	133	668
Percent of total	6.1	12.9	19.0	12.1	7.7	38.8
Number of SMSAs	6	10	16	8	9	33
Total population change	189	389	598	929	216	1,723
Percent of total	11.0	22.6	33.6	53.9	12.5	100.0
Number of SMSAs	54	77	131	104	42	277

(Figures in 1000s; Totals rounded independently from cells.)

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

Table 5.6. Central-city migration of the black population, by region, 1975-1980.

	In-Migration	Out-Migration	Net Migration
Central Cities			
Northeast	63	141	-78
North Central	189	198	-9
South	350	654	-304
West	122	171	-49
Total U.S.	724	1,164	-440

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 368, Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981.

Table 6.1. Percent change in black population in central cities and suburbs, 1950-1980.

Total U.S.	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1950-80
Central City	56.6	35.4	16.4	147.0
Suburb	44.2	45.0	70.0	255.5

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2, Washington, D.C., 1975; and 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Standard Consolidated Areas: 1980, PC80-S1-5.

Table 6.2. Racial composition of central cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas, 1950-1980.

	1950		1960		1970		1980	
Total U.S.	%White	%Black	%White	%Black	%White	%Black	%White	%Black
Central Cities	87.0	12.5	82.1	16.7	77.5	20.6	69.2	22.5
Suburbs	94.8	4.9	94.8	4.6	94.1	4.8	89.7	6.1
Nonmetro	87.8	10.6	89.0	10.0	89.6	9.1	88.1	8.8

Source: 1950-70 data: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part I, 1975; 1980 data: 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Standard Consolidated Areas: 1980, PC80-S1-5.

Newark, Los Angeles, and Miami, all of which experienced a large increase in black suburbanization.

Variations in Black Suburbanization by Region

There was also a great deal of variation in black suburbanization among regions, as shown in Table 6.4. The South accounted for about 47 percent of all black suburban growth during the 1970s, which was not surprising given that more than 50 percent of all U.S. blacks live in the South. The suburbs in the North Central region and the West each experienced about 20 percent of the total growth in black suburban population in the 1970s, while the black suburban population of the Northeast grew by about 236,000 people, or 13 percent of the total. The suburban black population of the South among the SMSAs included in the JCPS data set grew by 843,000 between 1970 and 1980, more than the increase of 595,000 in the North, or the 330,000 in the West during the same period (see Figure 6.1).

In terms of rate of growth, however, the regional results were much different (see Table 6.4). The North Central region experienced an increase of 58.3 percent in black suburban population during the 1970s. The black suburban population of the West grew by 69 percent and that of the Northeast by 33.6 percent, while the black suburban population of the South grew by 37.8 percent. In other words, while the South experienced a larger volume of black suburbanization than any other region, the increases in the North Central region and the West were more significant in percentage terms.

The growth differences between regions did not change when population change per SMSA was examined. The black suburban population in the average SMSA in the Northeast region grew by 4,400, while the black suburban population in the average southern SMSA grew by 8,100 in the 1970s (see Table 6.4). Growth in the North Central region and in the West was smaller than in the South but greater than in the Northeast. In terms of black suburban growth per SMSA, then, the South's rate was almost double that of the North.

Distinct Nature of the Suburban South

The black suburban population of the South--unlike the black suburban population of the other three regions--consists of two distinct kinds of population. One type is comprised of blacks who have recently moved outward from the central city to the suburbs. This is commonly a "spillover" or expansion of black

central-city neighborhoods into the adjacent suburbs and is very similar to most of the suburban movement that has occurred in the North and the West.

The South, however, has a second kind of suburban black population. For historical reasons, blacks in the South have always been more widely distributed than in the North, and many black communities and enclaves have always existed in rural areas, including those close enough to major cities to be included in the metro area. Most of these black communities are remnants of earlier times, when blacks were primarily a rural and agricultural population. We will use the term "metro-rural" in discussing this type of settlement, since these communities are inside official metro area boundaries but are essentially rural in character.

Unlike blacks who have moved to a suburban location from a central city, blacks in these metro-rural communities have never made the rural-to-urban move that characterizes the history of almost all black populations in metro areas outside the South, as well as that of a large portion of metro blacks in the South. When blacks move from these metro-rural communities into the central cities, their change of location is registered as a suburb to central-city move.

The existence of these two types of black suburban residents explains why there is a much higher level of black suburbanization in the South than in the other regions, while the movement of many blacks from metro-rural areas to central cities may also explain why many SMSAs in the South lost black suburban population in the 1970s. Memphis, Tennessee, for example, which showed a loss of almost 12,000 people from its black suburban population in the 1970s, had over 90 percent of its black suburban population in its metro-rural area. Montgomery, Alabama, another SMSA that lost black suburban population in the 1970s, had 30,000 of its 32,600 suburban blacks in the metro-rural portion of the suburbs. Savannah, Georgia, lost over 2,000 blacks from its suburban population and also had a sizable black population in its metro-rural areas. Many of these blacks probably moved from relatively rural areas near the outer boundaries of metro areas to the central cities.

Black Suburbanization by SMSA Size

Most of the black suburbanization of the 1970s occurred in large SMSAs (see Figure 6.2). Analysis of the JCPS data set*

* The JCPS data set includes 278 SMSAs defined by the Office of Management and Budget as of November 1978. For each SMSA, the central-city and suburban population figures from the 1970 and 1980 Census were computerized.

shows that three quarters of the growth in the black suburban population during the decade occurred in the 37 SMSAs with a million or more people. In the 276 SMSAs analyzed in Table 6.5, the total increase in the black suburban population between 1970 and 1980 was 1,776,000. Of these, 1,323,000 moved to suburbs in SMSAs of more than one million population in 1970. Almost 40 percent of the growth in black suburban populations in the 1970s occurred in only 10 SMSAs. Long and DeAre (1981) also note this concentration and report that 54 percent of the national increase in the black suburban population occurred in only 14 large SMSAs.

In 1970, the 25 largest SMSAs contained 66.1 percent of all blacks in the suburbs. In 1980, however, the top 25 SMSAs contained only 59 percent of all blacks in the suburbs, indicating that black suburbanites were not quite as highly concentrated in 1980 as they were in 1970.

In the North and the West combined, 82 percent of the black suburban growth occurred in the largest class of SMSAs, while the corresponding figure for the South was only 67 percent. This indicates that the growth of the black suburban population in the South was not as highly concentrated in large SMSAs as it was elsewhere. In other words, some medium-sized and smaller SMSAs in the South experienced moderate black suburban growth during the decade.

To get a better picture of black suburban population growth, all SMSAs were divided into four classes on the basis of their black suburban population growth in the 1970s: less than zero (i.e., population loss) percent; 0 to 25 percent; 25 to 50 percent; and 50 percent or more. Forty-four SMSAs lost black suburban population, while 118 SMSAs had black suburban populations which grew by more than 50 percent. Table 6.6 shows that of the 44 SMSAs that experienced black suburban population loss in the 1970s, 26 (or 69 percent) were in the South. Table 6.7 lists the 29 suburban areas that had a black population loss of over 500 people during the 1970s; 18 were in the South. On the other hand, of the 119 SMSAs where the black suburban population grew by more than 50 percent between 1970 and 1980, 68 (58 percent) were located in the North.

Contrasting Explanations of Black Suburbanization

There is a wide range of views on the reasons behind the increase in the growth of the black suburban population during the 1970s. At one extreme, the increase in black suburbanization is seen as the successful outcome of fair housing legislation, improved education and employment opportunities for blacks, and

Table 6.6. Distribution of SMSAs by black suburban growth rate and 1970 SMSA population size.

1970 SMSA Size	Population Loss	Growth 0-24%	Growth 25-49%	Growth 50% or More	Total
Under 250,000	30	30	27	55	142
250,000 to 499,999	10	21	13	22	66
500,000 to 999,999	4	6	6	19	35
1 million and over	0	3	8	22	33
TOTAL	44	60	54	118	276

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

Table 6.7. Suburban areas with black population loss over 100, by region, 1970-1980.

SMSA	1970 Black Population	Black Population Loss 1970-80	1970-80 Percent Loss in Black Suburban Population
Northeast			
Johnstown, PA	878	-128	-14.6
Stamford, CT	1,671	-294	-17.6
Vineland-Millville-Brigeton, NJ	7,194	-135	-1.9
York, PA	4,712	-2,754	-58.4
North Central			
Gary-Hammond-E. Chicago, IN	1,921	-1,021	-52.7
Kankakee, IL	6,856	-387	-5.6
Lincoln, NE	217	-140	-64.5
Muncie, IN	364	-146	-40.1
Rockford, IL	3,866	-1,158	-30.0
South			
Abilene, TX	996	-111	-11.1
Alexandria, AL	17,980	-3,458	-19.2
Bryan-College Station, TX	1,580	-321	-20.3
Burlington, NC	12,839	-1,545	-12.0
Charlotte-Gastonia, NC	3,539	-851	-2.7
Chattanooga, TN	7,812	-1,842	-23.6
Ft. Smith, AR/OK	2,410	-117	-4.9
Lexington, KY	8,463	-774	-9.1
Longview-Marshall, TX	14,248	-1,549	-10.9
Lubbock, TX	2,298	-722	-31.4
Memphis, TN	68,095	-11,853	-17.4
Montgomery, AL	32,613	-7,883	-24.2
Roanoke, VA	4,492	-612	-13.6
Savannah, GA	15,667	-2,190	-14.0
Sherman-Denison, TX	900	-290	-32.2
Shreveport, LA	47,435	-7,674	-16.1
Tyler, TX	11,125	-1,341	-12.1
Wheeling, W. VA	2,144	-103	-4.8
West			
Great Falls, MT	740	-115	-15.5
Stockton, CA	3,959	-428	-10.8

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

other governmental initiatives designed to foster racial integration (Spain and Long, 1981; Long and DeAre, 1981).

Others, however, see the growth of the black population in the suburbs as simply an expansion of the segregated residential patterns of the central cities (Rose, 1976; Logan and Schneider, 1981; Lake, 1981). Our own findings suggest that the increased rate of black suburbanization is more an indication of "spillover," or the extension of city neighborhoods into deteriorating inner suburbs, than of black upward mobility into racially integrated suburbs. While blacks moving from the central cities to the suburbs tend to be better off than blacks who remain in the central city, suburbanization has not meant either a significant change in the socioeconomic status of blacks relative to whites or widespread residential integration.

The suburban areas closest to the central city have experienced increased population density, a shift from single-family to multi-family structures, a decline in the socioeconomic status of the population, and increased conversion of land from residential to nonresidential use. A recent study by Grier and Grier (1982) looked at the Washington, D.C. SMSA and found that the area inside the beltway--the inner suburbs--differed substantially from the area outside the beltway. The areas outside the beltway still exhibited the characteristics associated with the more traditional image of a suburb.

So-called dormitory suburbs, still the most prevalent type of suburb and the location of much of the most desirable housing, hold a much smaller proportion of the blacks who have moved to the suburbs. These blacks have significantly higher income and education levels than their counterparts in spillover communities. But while the rate of black migration to spillover communities increased during the 1970s, the rate of black migration to dormitory communities has remained steady for the last couple of decades.

Racial Differences in the Selection of Suburban Destinations

Despite the increasing rate of black suburbanization in the 1970s, the movement of whites from the cities to the suburbs during the period was significantly greater. Examination of the destination areas reveals important differences between white and black movers to the suburbs.

White movement from the central cities to the suburbs decreased from 45 per 1,000 population in the first half of the decade to 40 per 1,000 in the second half (Table 4.3). Meanwhile, black movement to the suburbs increased from 20 per 1,000 to 24 per 1,000. The ratio of the rate of white movement to black

movement from central cities to suburbs declined considerably during the 1970s. In the first half of the decade, whites were moving from the central city to the suburbs at 2.25 times the rate of blacks, but in the second half, the ratio dropped to 1.67. Even though these rates have been converging, whites are still moving from central cities to suburbs at a much higher rate than blacks.

Frey's (1979) study of 35 SMSAs examined variations in rates of white and black mobility during the 1960s. Frey concluded that racial factors played a diminishing role in explaining white movement from the central cities and that such factors as central-city economic decline, higher expenditures for public education in the suburbs, and the increase in jobs in the suburbs all provided incentives for whites to move out of the cities. In short, Frey found that while racial factors affected the choice of a suburban destination by whites, deteriorating economic and social conditions in the central city precipitated the decision to move (Frey, 1979).

Building on Frey's analysis, Goodman and Streitwieser (1982) examined suburbanization patterns in the 1970s in 35 SMSAs in an attempt to identify the factors associated with movement to the suburbs. They too concluded that race plays a significant role in determining destination choice and that declining economic conditions in the central city caused whites to move. The gap between the rates of white and black suburbanization was attributed to "black retention" in the central cities rather than "white flight," this retention being linked to actual or anticipated racial discrimination in the housing market (Goodman and Streitwieser, 1982).

Farley et.al. (1978) indicated that blacks have a good knowledge of the suburban housing market. They concluded that lack of knowledge about housing alternatives was not what was keeping blacks from moving to better suburbs. This finding supports Goodman's and Streitwieser's "black retention" hypothesis.

Fiscal Characteristics of Suburbs with Growing Black Populations

In an analysis of 1,069 suburbs in 31 SMSAs, Logan and Schneider (1981) found that the fiscal characteristics of suburbs with growing black populations were more similar to the fiscal characteristics of central cities than they were to those of white suburbs. Suburbs with large black populations had a substantially lower property tax base, higher taxes, and greater indebtedness than white suburbs. The low-to-average personal income of residents, compounded by higher population density, slower growth, and a deteriorating employment base, meant that suburbs

with large black populations had weaker resource bases than suburbs with mostly white populations (Logan and Schneider, 1981). Despite their weaker fiscal condition, suburbs with large black populations were found to provide a wider range of municipal services and to have a significantly higher level of per capita expenditures than white suburbs.

The view that inner suburbs are experiencing little economic growth is consistent with the recent shift of much industrial activity and residential construction to nonmetropolitan areas. During the 1970s, when the 225 largest metropolitan areas lost 513,000 jobs, nonmetropolitan counties gained 619,000 jobs.

Also consistent with the view that inner suburbs in general are suffering from a declining economy is the growth in the number of suburban residents with incomes below the poverty level. The poverty population of the suburbs grew from 5,937,000 in 1970 to 7,377,000 in 1980, an increase of 1,440,000 or 24 percent. Of the 1,440,000 new suburban poor, about 350,000 were black.

Characteristics of Black Suburban Neighborhoods and Black Suburbanites

It has already been mentioned that most of the blacks who moved to the suburbs during the 1970s moved to communities where blacks already composed a distinct part of the population. A 1981 national sample of recent suburban homebuyers revealed that a disproportionate number of blacks purchased black-owned units in black or integrated neighborhoods, while white purchasers were found almost exclusively in white neighborhoods (Lake, 1981, p. 240). Blacks paid less than whites for equivalent housing within neighborhoods, a fact attributable to the greater frequency with which blacks purchase black-owned units and the lower average price (due to low white demand) obtained by blacks when selling a suburban house (Lake, 1981).

Data analyzed by Spain and Long (1981) reveal that the suburban destination of blacks is related to their socioeconomic characteristics. Their data show that over 65 percent of the black movers with four or more years of college moved to suburban census tracts that were less than 10 percent black, while less than 20 percent moved to racially balanced (defined as 40 to 59 percent black) or predominantly black tracts. (A tract is a geographic unit commonly used by the Census Bureau. Tracts usually contain two to five thousand people and are often used as a surrogate measure for neighborhoods.) The data also show that 27 percent of all black movers to the suburbs moved to tracts that were between 10 and 40 percent black and that 33 percent

moved to tracts that were more than 40 percent black. In other words, at least 60 percent moved to tracts that were disproportionately black.

Spain and Long (1981) conclude that because nearly 70 percent of all blacks in their sample moved to suburban tracts that were more white than black, a pattern of black movement to predominantly white neighborhoods exists. This statistic, however, is more likely due to the fact that the suburbs as a whole were over 90 percent white in both 1970 and 1980. Very few suburban tracts with black majorities exist. But given the propensity of black movers to select suburban areas with a growing black population (over 60 percent choosing suburban tracts less than 90 percent white), there is little evidence to suggest that black suburbanization is effectively integrating the suburbs. Rather, it is more likely that sections of these suburbs are being transformed into predominantly black communities.

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Table 6.4. Black suburban population change in 276 SMSAs, by region, 1970-1980.

Region	Number of SMSAs	Black Suburban Population 1970	1980	Population Change	Total Percent Change	Mean Change Per SMSA
Northeast	53	702	938	236	33.6	4,400
North Central	77	616	975	359	58.3	4,700
South	104	2,231	3,074	843	37.8	8,100
West	42	490	828	338	69.0	8,000
TOTAL	276	4,039	5,815	1,776	43.9	6,400

(Figures in 1000s)

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

Figure 6.1. Growth of black suburban population in 276 SMSAs, by region, 1970-1980.

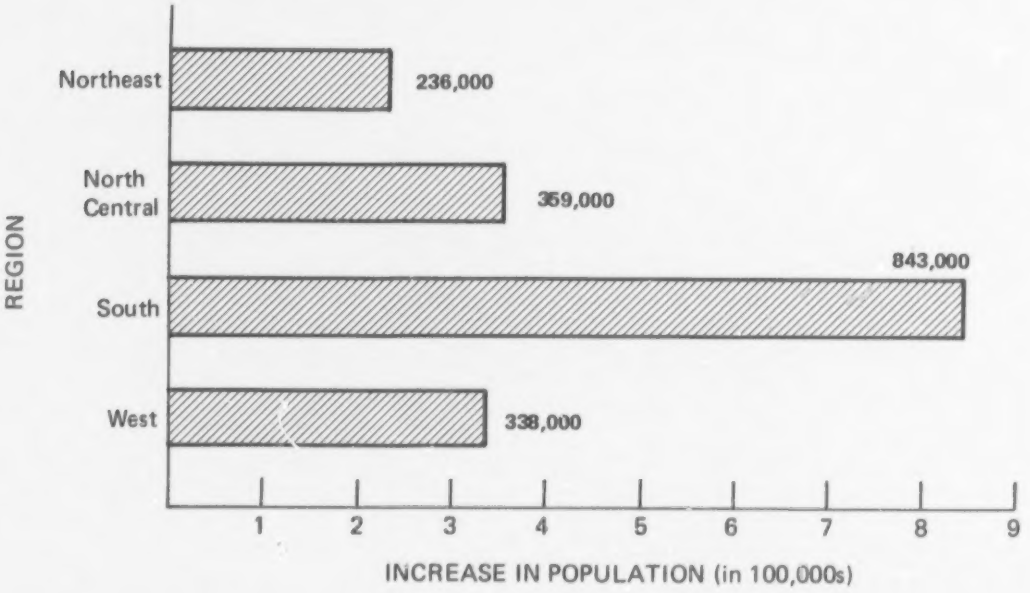

Figure 6.2. Growth of black suburban population in 276 SMSAs, by 1970 SMSA size, 1970-1980.

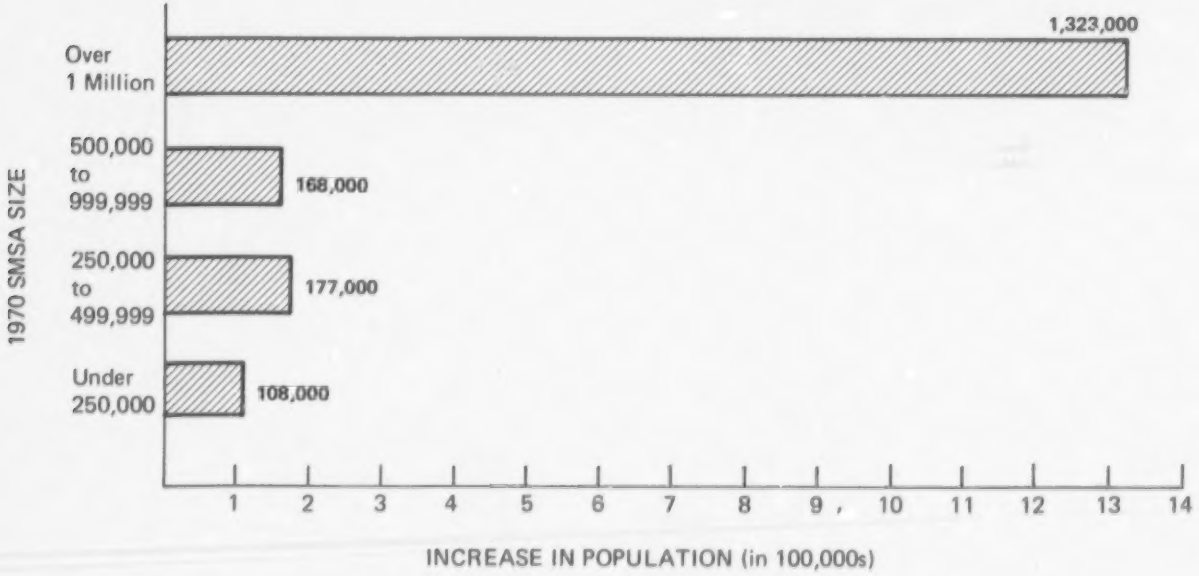

Table 6.5. Black suburban population change 1970-1980 in 276 SMSAs, by 1970 SMSA population size and region.

1970 SMSA Size	# of SMSAs	Northeast	North Central	(North)	South	West	Total
Under 250,000	142	9	19	28	75	4	107
250,000 to 499,999	66	14	9	23	124	30	177
500,000 to 1 million	35	24	32	56	82	28	166
Over 1 million	33	190	298	488	561	274	1,323
TOTAL	276	237	359	595	843	336	1,773

(Figures in 1000s; totals rounded independent from cells.)

Source: Analysis of JCPS data set.

7. CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, we have examined recent demographic changes in the nation's black population within the context of overall demographic and economic change. Two findings in particular point to the need to keep black demographic trends in mind in attempting to devise more effective urban policies.

First, the concentration of blacks in central cities continues to grow, and, because of changing economic conditions and the out-migration of middle-class residents, an increasing percentage of the blacks who live in the central cities are poor. Furthermore, as blacks have become an increasingly larger part of the central-city population, the central-city population has been declining as a portion of the national population. Thus, although the political power of blacks in the central cities has increased with the growth in their numbers, the national importance of the cities is diminishing because a smaller share of the total population lives there. In addition, industry and commerce have moved many of their resources out of the central cities.

Although blacks have gained a greater voice in the way cities operate, the influence of their representatives on state and federal policies is likely to diminish as they face a growing number of representatives from suburbs and nonmetro areas whose constituents have different concerns. Furthermore, there seems to be a negative correlation between the degree of black political power in a central city and the city's economic health. In some cases, it would appear that instead of having achieved political power in a central city, blacks have had that power relegated to them as the city's fiscal conditions have deteriorated.

The prospects for an increase in the political power of blacks in central cities are clouded by the fact that most of the cities where blacks will become the majority population in the

near future are located in the South. Given the history of blacks in the South, important questions arise whose answers are not obvious. Will southern cities be willing to develop the kinds of social programs that have been developed in northern cities? Will whites in the South be sympathetic to the plight of a central-city population that is disproportionately poor and black?

The second particularly significant finding in this monograph is that most of the blacks who have succeeded in moving to the suburbs have managed to improve their socioeconomic environment only minimally, and some predominantly black suburbs already show signs of decline. Most black suburbanization appears to be occurring in inner suburban "spillover" communities--areas where white residents are moving out in substantial numbers and where little, if any, permanent residential integration is taking place.

Most measures of residential integration examine the mix of races in areas at one point in time. A more realistic goal would be to determine the racial composition of areas over time. This would make it possible to distinguish areas passing through a transitional stage from those that have a stable and integrated population. Unless the transitional areas are treated differently from stable areas, most indices will overstate the degree of integration.

Many people, on seeing the increase in the black suburban population, have taken it as a sign of a growing black middle and upper class. But Robert Hill, former director of research at the National Urban League, has found that the popular belief that economic gradations in the black community are widening is not supported by the evidence. Just as the proportion of black families with incomes higher than the "intermediate standard of living" budget for a family of four as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) "remained relatively unchanged over the past decade (at one-fourth), so did the number of poor black families (at 28 percent)" (Hill, 1981, p. 35). Thus, almost one-half of all black families have incomes that are above the official poverty level but which are below an intermediate standard of living.

Hill's observation is important for two reasons. First, it shows that economic differentiation within the black population did not increase in any real sense during the 1970s. The relative distribution of the incomes of black families changed little, if at all. Second, since nearly 50 percent of the black population falls in the lower middle-class category (with incomes above the poverty line but below the intermediate family budget), it is likely that a large portion of the blacks moving to the suburbs are lower middle-class blacks.

The movement of these lower middle-class blacks to the suburbs has left many whites with a mistaken impression of black progress. As Pettigrew (1980) points out, the few middle-class blacks moving to predominately white suburbs are highly visible to whites, but many whites are unaware of the black poverty in the central cities--and even in the spillover neighborhoods in the inner suburbs--with which they have little contact. Whites thus tend to believe that the problems of blacks have largely disappeared.

Policy Implications

Given the close relationship between job opportunities and migration, the recent shifts in the location of the black population should be reviewed in connection with employment policies. The dispersion of jobs within metropolitan areas has been taking place for many years, and suburban employment growth continued to be substantially higher than central-city employment growth during the 1970s. An accurate picture of the redistribution of black people in relation to the redistribution of jobs would be useful for planning employment policies, as would a better understanding of regional labor markets as economic growth shifts from the North to the South and the West and from large metro centers to smaller metro areas and nonmetropolitan areas.

Housing availability, affordability, and location within a metropolitan area also play a major role in population distribution, since a decision to relocate is often determined by the local housing market. While it is true that blacks as a whole have fewer resources than whites with which to obtain housing, it is also true that blacks and whites of comparable socioeconomic status exhibit different patterns in buying and renting homes. These patterns suggest that racial discrimination in the housing market continues to be a significant problem. Given recent demographic changes, what is the appropriate emphasis and orientation of housing policy? For example, should the Section 8 housing assistance program place emphasis on geographic deconcentration of housing for blacks, or should emphasis be placed on providing housing within already existing minority neighborhoods? Are there specific circumstances where one strategy would be preferable to the other? Have recent changes in housing policy had differential impacts on whites and blacks?

This study of demographic change will also prove useful in assessing education policy. For example, how has the redistribution of blacks and whites in metropolitan areas influenced the effectiveness of busing as a means of school

integration? Are suburban school systems to which blacks increasingly have access maintaining their traditionally high standards and quality? Are the schools in suburban black communities experiencing the same type of deterioration sometimes found in the school systems of the inner city? How is demographic change related to enrollment trends?

Another issue affected by population redistribution is the matter of governance. Black political participation and representation have been crucial components of black advancement, and urban areas have been especially significant in this respect. All of the current black members of the U.S. Congress, for example, represent large urban areas. Thus, the changing demography of blacks also raises questions regarding black political progress. To what extent is black suburbanization changing the character of local governance in metropolitan areas? Are blacks in the suburbs gaining a voice in local governments that have previously been all white? Conversely, will black suburbanization eventually lead to a diminution of black political strength in central cities? To what extent are blacks taking control of central-city politics as they increase their percentage of voters? What effect is the changing population distribution having on the issues of legislative reapportionment and redistricting?

These policy-related concerns will be addressed in subsequent Joint Center publications.

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About the Researchers

William P. O'Hare is a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political Studies. A social demographer, Dr. O'Hare previously served as deputy director of the National Social Science and Law Center, Inc. In 1980-81, he held a Fulbright-Hays fellowship as visiting professor at the University of San Carlos in the Philippines. Dr. O'Hare's primary research interest is the use of federal statistics in policy making.

Jane-yu Li is a research associate at the Joint Center. An ecnomist, Dr. Li has been associated with the Stanford Research Institute's Socioeconomic Research Center and World Economic Program and with the World Bank.

Roy Chatterjee, a staff analyst at the Joint Center, was previously a research assistant at the Brookings Institution. He has served as a researcher at the Appalachian Coalition in Jenkins, Kentucky and at the Seva-Bharati Institute in West Bengal, India.

Margaret Shukur, previously a research assistant at the Joint Center, has also served as a research assistant at the University of Wisconsin, Department of Political Science and the Institute for Research on Poverty.

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